

also inherently assume all workers begin from a privileged position of having their perceived 'moral worth' intact and unquestioned. The reality is that many people who occupy marginalized positions do not have this luxury as a starting point—racialized people, indigenous populations, queer people, and those with chronic mental health concerns and physical disabilities have all historically, though differently, had their morality treated as suspect. This recognition, acknowledged but not elaborated upon by the book, further complicates debates around previous constructions of sex workers.

Given these considerations, the reframing called for by *Sex Work Matters* is much needed, and the intervention is an important one. Although many scholars and activists have been contributing to anti-morality and anti-trafficking discourses for some time, there is still a shortage of contemporary academic collections that reflect current research across a variety of disciplines. However, while the intent of *Sex Work Matters* is clear, the execution is inconsistent.

Several pieces in this collection build strong foundations from which to reimagine scholarly engagement with sex work/ers—notably, chapters by Laura Agustín, Jo Weldon, and Maggie O'Neill and Jane Pitcher map out potential alternative frameworks and methodologies in order to ground both the research process and results, and engage the lived experiences of sex workers in more reflective ways. Though each case presented in this book strives to challenge dominant paradigms (disciplinary, socio-cultural, legal, discursive), some do so only while continuing to uphold familiar tropes of sex workers, and/or to reinforce hierarchies of the nonparticipant researcher and the participant researched.

With the goals of *Sex Work Matters* including a creation of more dialogue across research/ers, it seems logical—indeed, perhaps imperative—that an intersectional approach be fostered. Here, a nuanced intersectional approach must mean more than simply

looking at interrelating factors of race-class-ability-gender-age-sexuality (an equation that is challenging enough for some). Intersectionality in this case should also encompass awareness and understanding of various forms of sex work and the relationships between and among them. While some chapters elucidate these linkages, others stay firmly rooted in their own cases and do not explore broader connections to other employment in the sex industry. Rather than undermine the collection, however, these shortfalls actually serve to support the editors' call for more dialogue between researchers and activists alike.

Reading from a sex-positive and sex work-positive feminist framework, *Sex Work Matters* ultimately leaves something to be desired. The analysis across chapters is inconsistent, and should be pushed further in order to better reflect debates and activism that have been occurring outside of the mainstream academy for some time now. While including different viewpoints is important in furthering dialogue, editors must pay careful attention to the ways in which they place differing approaches in conversation with one another. Ditmore, Levy and Willman tend to fall back onto a human rights discourse that glosses over differences in geopolitical location in favour of advocating for sex workers to "enjoy the same rights and conditions as anyone else." They fail to substantially ask the question, however, *who is this 'anyone else'?* This is left as an unmarked (highly privileged) group that has full access to legal, state-sanctioned support—one that is, indeed, elusive.

With that being said, the collection offers an important step in the right direction, and begins to reframe the terms for engaging research on and with sex work/ers. It is a good resource for those seeking an initial sampling of contemporary research on sex work that does not rely on narrowed visions of trafficking and calls for abolition. Readers should bring an open mind to alternative methodologies and lines of inquiry while keeping a critical eye

to potential reproduction of research inequalities. Ideally, the contributions made by *Sex Work Matters* will encourage more publications of this kind, and will continue to expand the field of sex work studies in ways that are useful to, and inclusive of, sex workers and their demands.

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## THE WOMEN'S MOVEMENT: INSIDE AND OUTSIDE THE STATE

Lee Ann Banaszak  
New York: Cambridge University Press, 2010

### REVIEWED BY LISA MAE BOUCHER

*The Women's Movement: Inside and Outside the State* analyses the intersection between social movements and states. Exploring the role of feminist activists located within the state bureaucracy, Lee Ann Banaszak considers the important contributions that feminist insiders made to the American women's movement from 1960-2000. Although she notes the relative weakness of the U.S. women's policy machinery in comparison with other liberal democracies, Banaszak argues that feminist insiders were dispersed across the bureaucracy and were often able to develop policies and create political opportunities which were consistent with movement goals. Critical of scholars who argue that insiders are inevitably co-opted and committed to limited

reformist goals, Banaszak urges us to move past binary distinctions which create false divisions among activists and hinder our understandings of social movements.

Through her analysis of archival data and in-depth interviews with 40 feminist insiders, Banaszak develops a theoretical understanding of movement-state intersections. These intersections develop when social movement actors and/or organizations create networks located within the state. Arguing that the state is a complex institution representing multiple and conflicting interests, Banaszak focuses on the individuals that work within the state apparatus and their ability to represent their own interests. Although she recognizes that insiders are limited by their dual roles as activists and bureaucrats, as well as by the level of exclusion faced within the state, she contends that their insider status allows them to create opportunities for movements in ways that those working outside the state are unable to. Importantly, Banaszak reminds us that movement-state intersections are fluid, with opportunities and constraints varying according to the movements in question and across time.

Banaszak explores many important questions throughout her book. For instance, she asks whether feminist bureaucrats were representative of the larger women's movement in terms of their class, education, race, and ideology. What was their relationship with women's organizations and feminist activists outside the state? How did their location within the state influence the goals and tactics chosen? What influence did feminist insiders have over policy development and its implementation? Finally, she questions whether feminist insiders were able to continue their work under hostile administrations, particularly under the Reagan and Bush administrations.

Banaszak's study challenges several commonly held assumptions in the social movement literature. For

instance, although feminist bureaucrats tended to be white, middle-class, and well-educated, they were diverse ideologically, ranging from Republicans to radical feminists. Furthermore, feminist insiders employed a combination of conventional and confrontational tactics depending on existing opportunities and constraints. Indeed, many of the activists interviewed insisted that their insider knowledge of the state made them understand more clearly the need for outside mobilization, and allowed them to see when confrontational tactics would be necessary. Banaszak emphasizes the importance of the alliances between feminists working inside and outside the state, rejecting claims which question feminist bureaucrats' commitment to the women's movement. Moreover, she reminds us that these groups of activists cannot be so easily separated as many feminist insiders were often simultaneously engaged in movement activity outside the state.

A central goal of Banaszak's work is to highlight the experiences of feminists working within the state. She believes that their stories are often neglected or excluded in histories of the American women's movement, and she contends that this neglect is often the result of preconceived ideas about the separation between movements and states. Her case study renders a clear division between these two concepts false and the data she provides allows us to see the complex ways that states and movements intersect.

Although Banaszak arguably places too much emphasis on the role of individual agency, her research makes an important contribution to our understandings of states, women's movements, and social movements more broadly. Supporting her theoretical arguments with rich data, Banaszak forces us to re-evaluate our assumptions about state-movement relations. Given this, her book is an asset to those with an interest in so-

cial movements, state feminism or the history of women's movements.

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## **LAW AND THE BORDERS OF BELONGING IN THE LONG NINETEENTH CENTURY UNITED STATES**

Barbara Young Welke  
Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010

REVIEWED BY KATHARINE WROBEL

*Law and the Borders of Belonging* discusses the parameters of legal inclusion and exclusion during a formative phase of American history. This book explores how exclusionary practices are not unrelated precursors to the formation of American society; rather, they are "embedded" in the notions of personhood and citizenship that comprise America's legal and social history and legacy.

Like many social and political historians, Barbara Young Welke starts with the premise that the founding of the modern American liberal state rests on the concept of individual rights and freedoms. By exploring this ground through the theoretical frame of "belonging," Welke considers how law constructs individual identity and liberty, within intersections such as race, ethnicity, sex, and ability, in order to demarcate and to divide. Thus, conceptions of belonging require borders—exclusions as much as inclusions—in order to operate through the law. Welke extends her